439 south of the mountains (the Coast Range). The
436 Tokya ate the fish from the shells and traded these to their inland neighbors. Usually the buyer made them up into money: this was what the Wowol did. The Tachi went to Wolasi villages to trade with the Wowol, but no farther south, as Yi´nɛl was the most southern Tachi village. The Tachi, Wolasi, and Chunut traded seed foods in exchange.

439 The Telamni came out to the Wolasi to
574 visit but not to trade (sic). They, the Wechihit, Wolasi, and Chunut came to Tachi mourning ceremonies at Tɛlwe´yɛt. The Gawia did not ever visit so far west.

361 The large Tachi village called Tɛlweyɛt
115 was on the edge of the lake south of the present town of Lemoore. An important chief there was Luču´ši. The informant M.G. was born there; after her marriage she moved "a little east up the river [Kings?] to a village called Gaiwo´šyu. The barren area west of Tulare Lake which extended as far as the Coast Range and was roamed over by Tachi was called Utju´i. (Kroeber places a village, Udjiu, in this area.) There was a pond near Loston Hills.

578 The Chunut informant, J.A., gives a differ-
361 ent picture of Tachi relations, but her less intimate view of the situation makes it seem unreliable. She states that the Tachi, Wowol, and Chunut fought frequently, with the Tachi and Nutunutu as allies against the combined Chunut and Wowol. Tɛlweyɛt, a Tachi village, was at Summit Lake. At Woko´n were a series of camps among which the Tachi moved, especially when one camp had been visited by death. J.A. named Hono´tan (to stop suddenly) and Či´yi (bones) as two important Nutunutu villages, both near Kingston. Čiyi is undoubtedly Kroeber's Chisu. A chief there was Oli´kɛs, nicknamed Nai'nai´'i'ɛs (Squint-eye) because he was cross-eyed. The Nutunutu was a very large tribe, J.A. said.

101 The Chunut on Tulare Lake had Tachi and
131 Nutunutu neighbors toward the north. Their land extended eastward almost to the present site of Tulare (city), east of which dwelt the Wolasi. The main Chunut rancheria, which J.A. pronounces pi´sras, a pronunciation I believe is a corruption of "Pierce's Ranch," was near Farmersville, which she claimed was Chunut territory (čunu´tači pa'an). Near Tulare (city)
101 was a bottomless pond called mike´yɛt; things
● 484 which fell in were never recovered. The Chunut
131 frequently walked over to the ocean across the mountains to the west, provided relations were

[P. 9a] Tubatulabal NS22

Y 101 131 friendly with the intervening Tachi (and, presumably, Salinan).

Wowol territory was somewhat west and elsewhere south of the Chunut. One important village was called Yiwo´ni. An island in Tulare Lake belonged to the Wowol; it was called witi'tsolo´wɛn. On it was a village which J.A. and her mother visited by means of balsas. They had a relative there. On the island was a tremendous number of bleaching bones which J.A. says were those of humans who had died of smallpox.[1] The visit was probably made between 1860 and 1870; it was "before the big earthquake."

Y [484] Y [361] Y [164]

South of Bakersfield lived people who "had a lake in the middle of their mountain. It dried in the summer." (This may be Castac Lake, possibly a small lake near present Tehachapi.) This tribe was called tipe´kɛl yoko´č (red clay people) "because they lived in houses plastered with red clay, with tule roofs which were covered with mud." The people who live there now are called Tejon (whether this was Fort Tejon or Tejon Ranch some distance to the east, J.A. could not determine; probably the former, which is near Castac Lake).

Y [439]

The Tokya (Chumash and Salinan) lived "on the coast"; the Salinan of Chulame were called Tokya also. Various types of shell money were got from them. J.A. had not heard of Mutulu (a coast Indian raider mentioned by Wobonuch informants) or other individuals from the coast, and believed that the valley people went out to do their trading rather than that coast people came in. She, too, says that the bought shells were worked into money by the Yokuts purchasers.

At Ventura lived the Ititu´wɛt, but J.A. does not know whether this was the Yokuts name for these people, or what they called themselves.

T [141]

The Kawe´sa (Kawaiisu) lived east of Tejon, toward the hills "and talked something like the Monachi." They were noted for their large bows and arrows.

T 101 131

The Ričiki´tu (Pitanisha) lived at Whiskey Flat "over back of Kern River." At another time J.A. said Ričikitu was "the Mexican name for the Pitani´sa who lived at Pita´nɛn, where there was a deep little river."

Y 103 131

Localities

The following sites are located on Local Map A (map 2). Places known to be villages are marked with a dot and circle.

1. mu´sahau: a Wechihit village
2. wewa´yo: a Wechihit village
3. wo´hui

[1] Powers mentions a "plague" which took many lives in the Fresno River region a few years before his visit (Tribes of California, 380).

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P. 143 C] Choinimni

439 barterers, with the Monachi (Wobonuch Western Mono) neighbors on Kings River above Sycamore Creek. The Yokuts considered themselves superior. Unlike the Penutian-speakers of the 186 valley, the upland Monachi were found to be [197] treacherous and thievish by the Mayfield family. However, with characteristic fairness, Mayfield said that this might be due to his family's friendliness with the Yokuts and that, had the Mayfields been placed first amongst the Monachi, these Indians probably would have been the friends and the Yokuts would have proved equally inimical.[3]

619 What is clear throughout is this: that utmost friendliness prevailed among all the 423 Yokuts tribes in contact with one another along these waterways, particularly with regard to fishing privileges. While the Choinimni felt the north bank of Kings River to be theirs, between the Wobonuch on the east and the Toihicha on the west, the Gashowu were welcome to occupy their fish camp (Map 2: Local Map D) during the spring salmon run. These neighbors remained there while the fish dried, which they then took home to store. Similarly there were the most flexible "boundaries" for seed and acorn gathering. As elsewhere along the eastern side of the San Joaquin Valley, there was an abundance of fish, game, and vegetable foods; probably for that very reason, nothing [574] was begrudged. There was much intertribal visiting during ceremonies; the Choinimni, Michahai, and Entimbich particularly combined on such occasions.

574 The Choinimni, for their part, were annual visitors in the Tulare Lake region, where they 484 were hospitably received by the Tachi. An excursion to the lake on tule balsas is described [501] by Jeff Mayfield. The visitors took with them supplies and equipment for camping. The large 574 balsas were boarded at the edge of the hills, 502 some ten miles below Sycamore Creek, where the 484 river waters were broad and placid, yet full

[text continues on p. 145]

[3] Ibid.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 1459] Choinimni

from the spring floods which would carry them over impeding sand bars. About ten days were required for the trip. Accompanying hunters sometimes traveled afoot all day and joined the group on the barges wherever they were moored for the night. While at the lake, the foothill people engaged in fishing, bird snaring, rabbit drives, and so on, and doubtless traded their native products for local ones.[4]

P.D.W. had heard of but one "war," in which "all the Indians gathered at a flat near Centerville and then ran up back of Pine Ridge." No more coherent statement could be got: it suggests an occurrence under white pressure, perhaps in connection with the Ghost Dance.[5]

In referring to neighboring people, directional terms were generally applied when one did not wish to make reference to a specific tribe. Thus the Gashowu, Kechayi, Dumna to the north were called hošo´m. The Michahai, Chukaimina, and even Wukchumni were homti´nːn, southerners. The term wa´kli´u was applied to the Toihicha and Wechihit on the west. The Wobonuch and Entimbich to the east were spoken of as not. Collectively all Western Mono groups were referred to as nuta´wi or nutsa´wi (easterners, uplanders), just as were other mountaineers to the south, Tübatulabal (Pitanisha) by Paleuyami, Koyeti, etc.

Directions were spoken of spontaneously by P.D.W. and given unhesitatingly in the following order: hošo´mo (north); homtinːn (south); wakli´u (west, possibly downstream); not (east, mountainwards); ti´pːn (up); atː´l (down).

Localities

Local Map D shows the following Choinimni and Wobonuch sites.

Choinimni sites:

1. kipai´yu: west terminus of Choinimni territory; Centerville
2. hoha´ltao: valley east of Piedra
3. hːʻha´šyu: cemetery for no. 4
4. tihe´ču: meaning "fish going up"; a fishing camp
5. wohoi´nu: campsite
6. kuluša´o: an old large village
7. waša´mao: a village
8. yegwo´nyu: a village
9. lolo´nču: a village
10. mučeto´´o: a camp
11. wiše´lao: west terminus of Entimbich territory where they came for fish
12. wo´a´ltyu: northeastern terminus of Michahai territory
13. apa´wːč: Trimmer Springs; west terminus of Wobonuch territory called by them wasa´mu

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[4] Ibid., 29, 30.

[5] Perhaps earlier, 1851, at the time of the Mariposa Battalion's forays.

227 Large fish, such as salmon, were speared with a two-pronged harpoon. The whole instrument was called piče'kamni, the handle, ti'm:s, the hooks or detachable points, mike', and the strings, hilu's. Speared fish were: e'p:s [262] (lake trout), poi'yem (whale [sic], pike?), and gai'h:t (salmon).

482 The carrying basket (a'ñaš) was "used by every woman"; it was carried by means of a tumpline (wi-č:'n).

The carrying net (wa'lak) was made and used by men only.

252 Women pounded acorns (pai'y:n) at bedrock 412 mortars (tin:l), using a large pestle (če'; pa'lui, Gashowu). Acorn mush was called ki'n:m (ti'p:n, Gashowu).

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

276 Tobacco.--Tobacco (pa''om) grew plentifully in Dumna and adjacent foothill territory, according to B.W. About April it would be well grown and turning yellow; then old people, men or women, went out to pick it. They pulverized the dried leaves, added water, and formed the paste into a biscuitlike pat called šo'gen. When dried this tobacco was smoked (pa'mon, to smoke) in little pipes (su'ktao, pipe of elderwood [su'kut]; si'k:lao, pipe of cane [sik:l]). B.W. has seen stone pipes, but never any of clay.

[787] At night before going to bed, men or women who wanted good health or were seeking supernatural dreams would cause vomiting by eating tobacco and lime. The cake tobacco was pounded up in a special small mortar (koi'w:š) with burned shells (ok), water added, and the mixture eaten or drunk in very small quantity.

281 Blankets and clothing.--The rabbitskin blanket (xeu'či; cex:'na, Gashowu), made of the skins cut in strips and rolled, was made by women. B.W. could give no intelligible description of its manufacture. (Mexican or American blanket was called subo'n.) Women also "made clothes of deerskin."

481 Ferrying.--Everyone was a good swimmer, 501 but children, sick persons, and goods sometimes had to be taken across the San Joaquin 285 River, which is swift and deep. For this pur●484 pose there were large flat-bottomed baskets called te'w:č (taskai', Gashowu). These were tightly coiled, but were not waterproofed. Infants and goods were placed in these and pushed ahead with one hand by one or two swimmers. A [758] sick person would be laid on a raft of two or three logs; these too were used for goods, but baskets were preferred. Rafts also were pushed by swimmers; the river was too deep for poling.[39]

[39] The Mayfield family were assisted across the San Joaquin River by a group of friendly bathers who, if not Dumna, at least were their close neighbors (Latta, op. cit., 11-12).

[P. 176 9] Chuckchansi

164 For acorns the Chukchansi went north to
222 Bass Lake, said N.W. While up there they always feared the approach of bears.

For seed-gathering they went down toward Madera to what is now the Dobie [adobe?] Ranch.

Expeditions to get basketry materials -- roots which did not grow abundantly in the hills -- were made to the lower Fresno River near Madera. Only women who knew how to make baskets would go, accompanied by their husbands and families. They stayed away from home about
[484] a month, camping along as they went. Enough food, such as acorn meal, cooked, uncooked, or even unleached, was taken, while the men hunted for meat food as they traveled. Both women and
[438] men dug the roots. Some of the materials brought back were sold to others.[80]

242 J.R. claims that when he was a boy the
351 Indians throughout this region set fire to the brush after the seeds had been gathered (about July). The men started the fire and the women watched to see that it did not approach the houses. When it did, it was beaten out [with what?]. "It burned the hills, all over, clean through to the next one." The trees, which were green, did not ignite easily: however, "dead trees and logs were all cleaned up that way".[81] The tree covering of this country, J.R. says, was about as it is now, scattered bull pine, oak, etc., and in about the same quantity.

Communities

361 Related families usually built their
184 houses in an informal group. These groups, consisting of perhaps three to five houses, would be three to five hundred feet apart, yet in toto the families regarded themselves as comprising a single village. [Such scattered house-groups were not unusual in the Northern Foothills, and "community" is perhaps a better term than "village," in distinction from the townlike villages of the Yokuts to the south.--A.H.G.]

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[80] Today S.B. buys basketry materials from others, whereas L.W. said she would always prefer to get her own even when it is a hardship.

[174] [81] The aboriginality of this practice seems dubious. Getting firewood was sufficiently laborious for the Indians to discredit their deliberate destruction of "dead trees and logs." The practice is frequently attributed to early settlers, cattlemen, who wanted better forage for their stock, i.e., land free of underbrush, with improved grazing. On the other hand, there is evidence that shrub seeds, such as the Indians wanted, germinate better when subjected to scorching and it is possible the result was known to the natives and motivated the practice (vide Lester Rountree, Flowering Trees and Shrubs of California). Powers mentions aboriginal firing of the forest "all along the Sierra" (Tribes of California, 379). Dr. Kroeber informs me that firing of natural growth was practiced from Yosemite northward; perhaps this is about the southern limit of the custom. -- A.H.G.

264 512 Between meals anyone who wanted to could eat; cold acorn mush was always on hand. At meals, meat was divided so that everyone got a piece, however small it might be. Persons usually sat close to or at their sleeping place when eating inside the house, said J.R.

252 593 512 If the women of a household were off getting seeds or at other work far from home, the men would cook food so there would be a meal for them when they came home. The women did the same for the men when they were gone. When both sexes were at home, the women did the cooking. Men often cooked the meat dish, while women were preparing the acorn food.

484 512 People seldom went so far from home that they could not return by nightfall, said J.R. Men always got back from hunting by sundown. Neither would they go far to trade. "They go a little ways, and if they don't see anyone [with whom they can encamp for the night?] they come back before night."

512 When men went out on a long hunt they returned about midafternoon, said C.D. Then they ate, rested in the shade, and then went to the sweat house. After the sweat they swam, then went to their homes. After the evening meal they went to bed.

512 513 352 Old and young went to bed at the same time, J.R. thought. The little children were "wrapped in a little wildcat skin at night to have a good sleep." In a well-supplied family, each person had his own coverings, rabbitskin blankets for adults, small skins for the children. The fire was kept alive all night to keep the sleepers warm.

Clothing and Ornament

291 [261] [302] Not much clothing was worn by the Chukchansi or their neighbors toward the valley, said J.R. Men made the breechclouts, prepared the skin with deer brains, cut them to fit the individual, said C.D. He thought women's breechclouts were cut exactly the same as men's. M. said men wore an apron covering back and front [possibly she means the breechclout ends]. She said that girls made fun of men who wore no clothing or only a small covering over the penis. Men wore their hair shoulder length, singed off even with a hot coal.

Tule grass skirts were worn by women, said J.R.; these were also made of shredded willow bark, said M. Skins were worn around the loins by women, or in a "diaper shape," said M. Kroeber states that the back part of a Chukchansi woman's skirt was of buckskin, the front of pounded strands of a long grass called chulochul.[84]

Both sexes used skins of deer, fox, wildcat, or rabbit around the shoulders, said J.R. They were tied on with strings, or some people

[84] Handbook, 519.

[P. 1849] Chuckchansi

579 a group of Chukchansi who went over to the
674 Coast Range to steal horses from the "Mexicans." About seven or more men would go, walking all the way, and be gone for as much as six or seven months.

[262 They would first steal clothing and horses to ride on. Then they would be ready to secure
492] a herd of horses to bring back for food. On the return, when they safely reached the crest of the Coast Range, they would pause to divide their spoils.

Once when they were just about to make a halt for this purpose, Xoisin looked back and saw Mexicans [Spaniards] with guns on their trail. They dropped the clothing, left the horses, and ran for cover. Xoisin and a companion were trapped in a bad place. The Mexicans shot and wounded them both, but the pair of Indians had arrows with which they hit several of the attackers. They took turns shooting. This continued all day until the Mexicans ran out of bullets; they then asked the Indians "what they were, that they couldn't
[152 kill them or anything." Meanwhile other Indians were above on the hill, weeping because they thought their two companions had been killed. After the Mexicans left, Xoisin and his friend came out and joined the others on the hill.

Then they came home. Later they went to
[262 steal horses from another but nearer locality. Stolen horses were used for food: both C.D. and M.W. have eaten horse meat.

The following account from J.R. is not dated, but it might have occurred sometime between 1819 and 1860: as early as 1819 Estudillo[97] referred to the devastating effects of native horse-raiders on the Spanish herds in the northern San Joaquin Valley; after 1860 white encroachment was probably too advanced to permit of such extensive forays.

People went over west, across the San
● [484 Joaquin Valley to steal horses. They almost traveled day and night. They took a little something in the belt to eat, maybe.[98] They would be gone a week or a month, when they went stealing horses. When they got hungry they would make a little fire, kill a horse. They would go down by Madera, across the valley, cross the water [the sloughs and main stream of the San Joaquin River], then the mountains [the Coast Range]. They might not have been there before. But they got there: found a way across the water, across the mountain, found some horses to steal, or something. People over there owned lots of horses. They stayed there till sundown, after they had seen the horses, seen how many there were. After night came and people were in bed, they caught a

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[97]Gayton, Estudillo, 81 ff.

[98]Presumably in a small leather pouch slung through the belt, as was the custom with other Yokuts travelers.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 213 c] Western Mono NS25

Neither was there any sense of one family or lineage, more than another in the same tribe, owning, or originating in, the tribal pa'an.

A moiety term (Yayanchi) given by Kroeber[155] was unfamiliar to B.O., who ventured that it "maybe meant toward the north, some people living farther north."

The Waksachi had two permanent village sites, Čita´tu in Eshom Valley and Atitrao on the edge of the plains at Gaines Flat. The former had about twenty-five houses; the latter was nominally the terminus of the summer seed-gathering trip down to the valley. The route followed was always the same -- down by Dry Creek, across Rucker, Adams, and Gaines flats. The Waksachi claimed this area and all sites in it listed below, although there were no permanent villages or dwellings situated in it within the memory of informants. This annual move to the plains brought the Waksachi into contact with Gawia and Wukchumni whose territory began at Ničina´o (Karlburn Point?). Only if there was a severe winter or a poor acorn crop in their Eshom Valley center, did the Waksachi remain at Gaines Flat through the winter. The Waksachi made use of the country on the upper reaches of Lime Kiln Creek, which eventually flows into Wukchumni territory. The area which lay between this and Patwisha holdings at Three Rivers, on the Kaweah River, was unoccupied and served as hunting and foraging grounds for Waksachi, Wukchumni, and Patwisha. The joint claim was wholly amicable, according to all information. The Waksachi went southeast from Eshom Valley to Cactus Mountain for yucca, but not beyond. And they went across Redwood Mountain to Old Baldy Ridge for piñon nuts. This last ridge they never crossed, although no people lived above them on the west slope of the Sierra.

The people of Tušao village -- mixed Michahai, Chukaimina, and Waksachi -- often joined with those of Čitatu. Only very old people stayed at Tušao all the year round. The others went to Čitatu every summer for acorns. In the spring they went down toward Stokes Flat for fishing: they had a camp there named Tulna´o (Map 3; Local Map E, no. 34) and another fishing site near by called O´polo´o (meaning "in the sun," Local Map E, no. 35). Stokes Mountain was called Mučati´ (Local Map E, no. 36). When traveling to the fish camp, they left

[155] Ibid., 588.

[p. 214 9] Western Mono NS25

Y W 361 221 484 their houses at home and built temporary shelters at the campsite. The possessions taken were rabbitskin blankets, all basket utensils, both large and small cook pots, mush-stirrers and shelled acorns. Mortars were not taken, as they were rarely used save in the absence of the bedrock mortar; cooking stones were picked up anywhere. The paraphernalia packed in carrying nets by the men were the blankets and pots; women put their baskets and acorns in burden baskets. Infants might be [854] carried by either parent atop the load, never in the arms. Babies were also carried in their cradles by older sisters while the mothers carried burdens.

Y W 423 S.O.'s statement that there was no privately owned land or gathering-places is, I think, over-generalized. Certainly there were no rigidly defined limits, but the fact that a bride returned to her mother's gathering-place rather than going to her mother-in-law's or, better yet, gathering where she would, indicates at least a tendency toward personal association with a gathering-place, if not indisputable proprietary rights. (See Aerie Ownership.)

W Y 103 131 361 The sites named first by B.O. follow the route to Gaines Flat (nos. 1 to 19); thereafter come more random outposts to the east and north (see Map 3; Local Map E).

1. čita´tu: the main Waksachi village, tribal home or center
2. mosa´o: Rucker Flat
3. pinətsa´kowei: next camp south
4. tupaha´na: next camp south
5. hopuru´howa: Reed's place
6. kako´wa: Bill Hart's place
7. pasio´kiwi: Mel Osborn's place
8. mi'i´ñwi: Hunt's winter range, "Ranchería Flat"
9. koiwə´niu: hill by Adams Flat [possibly Sugarloaf]
9a. təveto´ri: Buzzard Roost, by Adams Flat, not located definitely
10. koiña´wasiu: camp south of Adams Flat
11. takika´puwi: gap going toward Gaines Flat
12. waja´'unasako·nyap: a place just east of Gaines Flat
13. kama: an intervening spot en route (not definitely located)
14. tsawige´wa: Red Hill, above Gaines Flat
15. taka´ñwi: Buckeye Flat, near Bones Cañon
16. tupa´puwi: near Buckeye Flat
17. kotiša´o: foot of hill next to Gaines Flat
18. atitra´o: Gaines Flat, the campsite there
19. ničina´o: Karlburn Point [?], a hill near Gaines Flat on which tobacco grew abundantly. This was the edge of Gawia territory and the southern limit of the Waksachi range.
20. tso´hom: high hill south of Badger
21. (omitted)

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

volume, was nearly lost in a lengthy area of swamp, whence its waters seem normally to have flowed backward into Tulare Lake. It seems that Kings River and Tulare Lake drained into the San Joaquin at no remote time, since the lake is fresh. The San Joaquin, from the point where it reached the central axis of the valley and perhaps once took in the excess discharge of Kings and Kern Rivers, was also bordered pretty continuously by tule swamps, though of less width than to the south. Hence the Spanish name "Los Tulares" for the low-lying portion of the valley and "Rio de los Tulares" for the stream, though by the latter term they understood the main line of the entire drainage system rather than its lower, more northerly portion alone, to which we, with greater precision but more arbitrary logic, restrict the name San Joaquin. Hence also the appellation Tulareños, under which they consistently and appropriately knew the Yokuts. (Pl. 47.)

The eastern side of the level valley is traversed by streams from the Sierra Nevada. A dozen or so of these merit the name "river." The west side of the valley, however, on the lee of the rather low and barren Mount Diablo Coast Range, is arid; and not even one permanent stream of any size whatsoever reaches the central river system from this left hand. The overwhelming bulk of the American population is on the east side. The dispersion of the Yokuts was, if anything, even more unilateral. In the whole upper valley, in which the distribution of the Yokuts groups is pretty accurately known, there were only two tribes, the Tulamni and Tachi, in the large tract west of Tulare Lake and Kings River; and even of these two the Tachi preferred to cross to the east side when summer and autumn dried the overflowed lands and rendered their winter habitat a virtual desert.

Along the west of the San Joaquin we have less certain knowledge. This territory seems to have belonged to the Yokuts, though in default of precise information it has sometimes been attributed to the Costanoan people or to the Miwok. This very doubt indicates an unimportant occupation; and while the area was almost certainly visited by the Yokuts, and probably claimed by one or more of their northerly tribes, the number of residents must also have been very few.

The flow of Sierra rivers of approximately equal length is ever less toward the south, so that Yokuts streams are smaller than those in Miwok territory and much smaller than those occupied by the Maidu. The run-off in millions of acre-feet is approximately as follows. Yokuts: Kern, ½; Kaweah, ½; Kings, 2; San Joaquin, 2. Miwok: Merced, 1½; Tuolumne, 2; Stanislaus, 1½; Mokelumne, 1. Maidu: American, 3½; Yuba, 3½; Feather, at Oroville, 6; the Sacramento at Red Bluff, above the Feather, 10½, most of it from the Pit. Even a short affluent of the Pit, Fall River, the habitat of one Achomawi division, carries about a million acre-feet, or more than the lengthy Kern or Kaweah.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

The Yokuts made pilgrim-
ages there for the purpose of gathering asphaltum for mending and waterproofing their equipment. . The Indian children used it for chewing gum.

East of the city of Coalinga there is an old Mexican settlement which, since an early period in the Spanish settlement of California, has been known as the *Poso Chaná*. Several different derivations and meanings have been suggested concerning this name.

While questioning an old Spaniard who was visiting relatives in upper Antelope Valley in northwestern Kern County, I asked, "What is the meaning of *Chaná?*" The answer was direct and definite. "It is the name of the tribe of Indians which lived there before the coming of the Spaniards." This man was Mr. Theodoro Larios, who was born in the little village of San Juan Bautista in 1860 and whose grandfather had charge of more than a thousand Indians while the mission at that place was being built.

After the mission was completed the elder Larios assisted in removing the Indians from the west side of the San Joaquin Valley and remembered distinctly having taken the Indians from the village of *Udjiu* (Ood'-ge-oo) which was settled at that time by the Spaniards and re-named by them after the people who were being removed, the Chaná Indian tribe. The water hole at that place led to the Spanish name Poso, or water hole, and was also an inducement to the Spanish to settle there.

During November of 1930 I obtained from *Pahmit*, an old *Dumna* Indian of Friant on the San Joaquin River, the name of the tribe which occupied the San Joaquin River below the *Pitkachi* and around the towns of Mendota and Firebaugh. According to his statement the tribe was known as the *Kahwatch'-wah*, meaning Grass Nut People. Pahmit furnished the only first-hand information I have obtained about the Indians of the West Side between Panoche and Romero Creeks, a distance of about thirty miles. As all other data gathered from him has proved accurate, we will read his story. I have corrected some of his broken English:

"When I was boy one strange Indian came to live with my father. He was 'bout fifty years old. I was 'bout ten. We call that Indian *Tukwhel* (Toó-kwheel). That means West. We call him that because he came from the West. His right name was *So-pah'-no*. He was born at an Indian village on Los

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

184 territory in which they lived. On the basis of their differences, they are readily classified into three types of cultures.

101 Probably the most numerous and important of these cul-
619 tures was one which we will call the River Culture. Typical of
184 this culture were the *Nutunutu* of Kings River near Laton, the *Telumne* of Mill Creek where Visalia now stands, the *Kaweah* of the Venice or Kaweah Hills district north of Exeter, and the *Yowlumne* of Kern River. These people were probably more abundantly supplied with fish, game and plant food than were any of the others. They lived among beautiful surroundings and were noted for the beautiful designs and wonderful workmanship of their basketry. These river people were at home beside these broad quiet streams beneath the oak trees which towered often one hundred and fifty feet in the air, and among whose branches the woodpecker, blue jay, wood duck, magpie and dozens of other birds were constantly clamoring. They lived in permanent houses and wandered about but little. During the acorn season a few of them might go to the mountains for several weeks. From time to time they might take part with some of the tribes to the south in surrounding antelope, or driving jack rabbits, but they were not a migratory people. Prob-
● [484] ably seventy-five per cent of their number lived to a ripe old age without ever having been as much as fifteen miles from the place where they were born.

101 These river tribes were the most affluent of the three cul-
181 tures. Historical data preserved would indicate that they were
184 probably more intelligent than the other tribes as well as more
619 friendly and dependable. Although practically all of the Yokuts were noted for their friendly, open disposition, the river tribes were probably more playful, jolly, hospitable and happy-
[146] go-lucky than were any of the others. Living in one place among plenty, they were also more likely to become burdened with flesh than were the other tribes.

101 The following extract from the 1845 *Report to Congress* by
175 J. C. Frémont is of interest. It describes members of the
619 Nutunutu subtribe of Yokuts on lower Kings River in 1845. They were a typical river people:

"On the opposite side we found forty or fifty Indians, who had come to meet us from the village below. We made them some small presents, and invited them to accompany us to our encampment which, after about three miles through fine oak groves, we made on the river.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Wukchumne

CHAPTER III

YOKUTS TRADE

A WUKCHUMNE TRADING EXPEDITION

One of my most interesting expeditions with Indians was made when I took the Henry Ichow and George Garcia families from the Kaweah River to Dunlap to gather clay for pottery, the black paint used in their ceremonies, and to trade basketry materials. The *Wukchumne* gathered *hupud* (hoo'-pud), or cladium roots, and *chawkish,* or bunch-grass, along the Kaweah. These they traded at Dunlap for *muhnokits* (muh-no'-kits), or black sword-fern root, and *ahnup,* the red outer wood of redbud. For several years I had been planning this expedition and was all expectation as we prepared to start.

Leaving Tulare at five a. m., I drove to the Kaweah River below Woodlake and began loading. There was a fifty pound flour sack full of small bundles of hupud and a large bundle of chawkish. There were several nests of baskets, tied up in flour sacks that had been ripped open. In them were brushes made of soap root husk, salt from salt grass and several roots and herbs with which I was not familiar. Some of these I placed in the trunk on the back of the car. Then I began loading the car. It was a seven passenger sedan, but it was surely stuffed when we were all aboard.

Ichow weighed at least three hundred pounds—I slightly less. We, with William and Virginia Garcia, occupied the front seat and from it to the dash and the top. Ada Ichow, Katie Garcia, her daughter, and the three oldest Garcia girls, Letha, Helen, and Melchor, piled into the rear seat. George, Johnnie and Howard Garcia occupied the two folding seats. Every inch of seat room in the rear compartment was taken up, either by Indians, or by bundles of trade materials.

The first stop was made on the grade leading down into the old Chris Evans' Rattlesnake Ranch, below old Aukland. I heard a grunt from Ada, which Henry translated into, "You stop here." I stopped and immediately learned that the old Pierce Arrow was blowing like a steam engine.

Ada and Ichow began giving instructions in the Wukchumne language. All but the youngest children scattered along the road and began searching the cut bank. The cut had

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
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123 438 484 been made into a mass of partially decomposed granite, with an overburden of about ten feet of soil. Soon Ada grunted again, and the whole expedition gathered around her. With a sharpened stick, which she used to dig basketry roots, she was digging into the soft granite and removing chunks of a heavy [317] blue-black material which she called *Kodeen* (Ko'-de-en). This, 135 I have since been informed, is a form of crude graphite, which was deposited in crevices in the top of the granite.

386 While the rest dug, Ichow explained to me how the old-time Yokuts used to prepare paint from this material and how they used to paint with it after it was prepared. A fire of dry oak wood was burned down to a heap of red coals. Then the graphite was dumped into a hole in the center and covered with hot coals from the rim of the fire bed. This was left until the entire bed of coals was reduced to ashes. After the whole mass had cooled, the burned graphite was carefully removed and placed in a bag of tanned deer-skin. Ichow later burned some of the material we gathered that day, but he did not follow exactly his own directions.

When the wood had burned to a mass of red-hot coals, Ichow placed the graphite in a portion of the bottom of a broken cast-iron kettle and sank it in the coals where it soon became red-hot. Within a couple of hours he removed the container and set it aside to cool. When I examined the material I found that it had changed character and color. Instead of being composed of several lumps of hard, heavy, blue-black material, almost exactly like the Rising Sun Stove Polish in use when I was a boy, it had slacked into a fine, sooty, black powder, in appearance like commercial lamp-black, but heavier.

[302] In this manner was gathered and prepared the black paint for which the ceremonies of the Yokuts tribes were famous. Officials who danced in these ceremonies painted their bodies black. In some tribes white stripes were painted across the chest and abdomen, vertical white stripes on the legs and arms, and large white spots on the face.

[439] White for this painting was prepared from diatomaceous earth, some of which was traded from Yokuts who lived in the Coast Range of mountains. One deposit of this crude chalk lies [317] near Lompoc and another near Crow Creek in Western Stanislaus County. It provided a pure white pigment.

[804] Both of the above pigments were mixed with plant juices to form a paint. One of my authorities, *Pahmit*, a *Dumna*

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
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Yokuts from Friant, informed me that his people used only oil from the seeds of the chilocothe, or wild cucumber. The other, Ichow, stated that the Wukchumnes mixed this oil with sap from the tall, blue-grey milkweed from which they gathered fiber for manufacturing string. This same sap was also made into chewing gum. In my own experience I have found such gum to be exceptionally durable, and anything but palatable.

Crowned with the standard Yokuts *Juk* (Jook), or dance headdress, the dancers were certainly spectacular performers when they surrounded the glowing fire during the annual dance for the dead. It is not surprising that pioneer whites who saw this dance likened the performers to dancing skeletons.

After about ten pounds of graphite had been gathered, Ada grunted again and the entire party began searching the soil above the decomposed granite. Then came another grunt and again we all gathered about her. She dug from the soil a round hard nodule of light-colored clay. In about two hours three of these nodules were excavated and, together with the graphite, were loaded into the car among the thirteen pairs of feet.

Where the grocery store had once stood at the old ghost village of Aukland we unloaded again and ate our picnic lunch in the shade of an oak tree. Ada murmured a few soft Yokuts words and Ichow explained for her that the old buildings just below us were once the home of Perry Byrd, father of Mollie Byrd who became the wife of the famous outlaw and train bandit, Chris Evans. When the Ichows first saw Chris he was working for Tulare County. He came along with a road grader and interrupted their work when they were gathering black paint material.

As we ate our lunch, Ichow explained to me that for many generations his people had visited the place, which they called *Hutudu* (Hoo'-too-doo), Hoot-Owl Place, to gather the material for black paint and the clay for making pottery. Although the deposits were in the range of the Wuksatche tribe, "They were our good friends and they let us come and dig whenever we wanted to. We had a big picnic when we came and traded basket roots, just like we do today," said Ichow.

Our work and lunch had delayed us until it was almost two o'clock in the afternoon; so I told the Indians we would have to hurry, as I had a dinner engagement in Tulare. In less than a minute all were packed in the car and we were on the road to

3: Latta-Y-5 (1923-1948) 1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Wukchumne

123 438 484 Dunlap. None of them seemed to hurry, but with a few soft, murmuring Yokuts words they faded into the car.

At Dunlap we entered the gate of the first Indian camp. I expected them to finish their trading in a few minutes, so we could return to the Kaweah in short order. Although they hurried from the car to the house, I noticed that the sack of [574] hupud and the large bundle of chawkish were left in the car. They visited a few minutes, exchanging news of all the friends and relations. Then Ada grunted and we all trailed back to the car. On we went to another place, where the performance was repeated. I was impatient at this, as the afternoon was fast slipping away. I saw that I would probably be late for that dinner engagement, but I knew better than to say anything.

At the third place we had no more than entered the house than Ada grunted. Letha ran out to the car and carried in the basketry materials. The trade was soon made and in less than five minutes we were on our way back to the Kaweah.

On our return I asked Ichow why Ada had not traded at the first places we visited. He explained that those first people had their bundles of hupud made up too small. I remembered that bundles of hupud were hanging on the walls of the houses, but, until Ichow mentioned it, I had not observed that they were smaller than Ada's bundles. All the way home Ichow and Ada tried hard to explain to me how trading was carried on between the Yokuts tribes and how their bead money was used in connection with it.

436 438 According to Ada, bundles of cladium root and redbud wood were made up the same size. But sword-fern root was made up about two-thirds as large. Because, as Ichow translated, [484] "They had to travel a long way to get it and it had to be colored."

Ichow, prompted by a few soft murmurs from the rear seat, [195] explained at great length—great length for a Yokuts—how important it was to have everything put up in the right size. Here is one of his statements. "In them old days them old people don't got scales to weigh with, don't got yard-stick to measure with. They make that black paint all into same size [804] balls, not so big as your baseball. My old grandpa, *Che'-chin*, trade some balls that black paint for some balls white paint when I was a little boy. I see him do it. Both kinds paint they trade was in same size balls."

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

302 172 and painted white stripes across it, exactly opposite to the present practice.

291 Only the principal article of women's clothing remains to be described. This was a short skirt affair (*chong-ish'-un*), made in the form of two small aprons, a small one behind and a smaller one in front. The skirt was made of various materials, [237] deer skin, tules, hemp, rabbit skin, mud-hen skin, grass and bark being reported from different portions of the San Joaquin. It reached almost to the knees. Some of these skirts were weighted by small balls of asphaltum attached to the lower edge.

While present day Indians are quite careful about conforming to the white woman's standard of dress, they appreciate quite fully that the present tendency is decidedly toward the old Indian custom. Several years ago I took an Indian woman to several of the valley schools to give demonstrations in basket making. We arrived at one school during a period when both boys' and girls' physical education classes were in session. The boys were on their own courts playing basketball and wearing only trunks. The girls were on another court playing the same game, wearing middies and bloomers, but no stockings. During the demonstration, the Indian woman sat on the floor of the gymnasium where the program was being held. The front row of spectators was composed entirely of girls, none of whom wore stockings.

After the performance, and when about thirty miles of the return trip had been made, the Indian woman said, "Ugh!" At this I listened closely, because such an exclamation always preceded a heated statement. Following a long pause came again, [185] "Ugh! White people don't wear any more clothes than old-timer Indians. All style. They tell Indians you nasty, you dirty, you don't wear clothes. So Indians *wear* clothes. Indians all die. Now *white people* don't wear clothes. Maybe Indians nasty. White people nasty, too."

YOKUTS SUMMER VACATIONS

501 The most unique of all boats, or other structures for that matter, built by Yokuts tribes and probably by other tribes on the ● 484 Pacific Coast, were the great tule rafts built on Kings River and probably on other rivers in times past for summer migration to the lakes in the San Joaquin Valley. By residents of the San Joaquin who must spend the hot summer months at home,

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

this annual pilgrimage to the lake shores will be appreciated. We learn from pioneer white settlers that when it was possible they, too, used to spend a portion of the summer at the valley lakes, Summit, Tulare, Goose, Buena Vista, and Kern.

One of the great experiences of the eighties was to be a member of an excursion about Tulare lake on the steamboat owned by Judge J. J. Atwell of Visalia. There would surely have been a marked contrast between the Atwell boat and the great tule rafts of the Yokuts, had they met upon the lake. At the sight of the smoke-belching Atwell boat the Yokuts occupants of a tule raft would probably have swum across Tulare Lake and hidden in the Coast Range Mountains.

The Yokuts raft is best described by T. J. Mayfield, whose account in "Uncle Jeff's Story" is repeated here for the benefit of those who have not read it.

"A great, long tule raft was built. The Indians used to build small tule rafts that would carry one or two persons for use on Kings river below the rancheria opposite Sycamore creek, but this raft for the lake trip was at least fifty feet long. It was made up of long bundles of tules, pointed at each end, and bound together with willow wythes.

"The bundles were made separately and then bound, or lashed together, making a sort of keeled boat with a depression along the center of the deck. The tules were lashed together in such a way that the raft, or boat, was pointed at the ends and resembled a great cigar, except that the pointed ends were turned up so that they were two or three feet above the deck.

"Along the center of this boat was piled their dunnage. This dunnage consisted of supplies and camp equipment, and included mortars and pestles, baskets of acorns, acorn bread, seeds, dried meat, skins for bedding and many other things. On the sides of the boat sat eight or ten Indians, generally one or two families.

"For us children this trip was an occasion of great excitement. We were all eyes and ears and could scarcely contain ourselves.

"The trip was made in the late spring when the flood from the melting snows in the mountains provided enough water in the river to float the raft over the sandbars.

"The whole rancheria did not make the trip. As I recollect, there were three rafts built the first year. They were built several miles below Sycamore creek, just how far I cannot say.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

501 484 We were almost a day carrying dunnage from Sycamore down to the place where the rafts were built. It could have been ten miles below the rancheria. I do remember that the river was wide there, and that a great quantity of tules grew in a slough leading out from the river. It was in this slough that the raft had been built.

"When we were all aboard, the boats were poled out into the stream and allowed to drift with the current. Three or four of the men stood at the sides of the raft and kept it away from snags and in the main current. In this way we floated along at about two or three miles an hour.

"At night the raft was moored to the bank in a quiet place and we camped on the shore. It was really one of the greatest experiences I have ever had, and certainly the greatest I had while living with the Indians. I believe that they, too, enjoyed these trips more than any of their other experiences. We traveled in style and in comfort. The river was lined with trees and vines and it was one beautiful scene after another.

"In after years I used to cross Kings river many times on the bridge south of Kingsburg and the scene there always reminded me of our trips.

"Of the amount of time used in making the trip to the lake shore I have no accurate recollection. We traveled very slowly and hunted a great deal along the way. Sometimes the hunters did not board the boat at all during the day but met us with game when we had made camp in the evening. I suppose that it must have taken us at least ten days to go from Sycamore creek to Tulare Lake."

SMOKE SIGNALS AND SIGN LANGUAGE

175 202 In the diary kept by J. C. Frémont while he was traveling through the San Joaquin Valley he wrote, under date of April 6, 1844:

"After having traveled 15 miles along the river, we made an early halt, under the shade of sycamore trees. Here we found the San Joaquin coming down from the Sierra with a westerly course, and checking our way, as all its tributaries had previously done.

"We had expected to raft the river; but found a good ford, [probably Gravely Ford, below present Herndon] and encamped on the opposite bank, where droves of wild horses were raising clouds of dust on the prairie.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

The people in each village were divided on two sides. They were divided in the family and in the village too. One side played against the other in the games.

One side was called *Tokelewits* (To-q'hell'-e-wits) and the other *Nutuwits* (Noo'-too-wits). The Tokelewits are on the west. At the big meetings they sit on the west. Their person is *Ahl'-wut,* the crow. The Nutuwits are on the east. At the big meetings they sit on the east. Their person is *Ki-yu,* the Coyote. I am a Tokelewits. My father was a Tokelewits. My mother was a Nutuwits. In all of the big games my father would be on my side. My mother would play against us.

When one side won at the Indian games their best players used to go away to play at other villages. Sometimes they went a long distance. My mother told me that players from *Nutunutu* (Noo-too'-noo-too) at Laton came to play where she was born at *Chau-lo'-win* where Alpaugh is now. They came carrying heavy burden baskets with fish and their game things, shinny-stick, football and other things.

When some players winning for Kiyu, or for Crow, came back to their village they would be carrying the baskets on their backs. The baskets would be empty of food. They would sing as loud as they could when they were a long way off:

A-na' a-na' a-nin'-a kow'-kow.
(sung four times)
A-na'-na.

This song means like, "We won, we are here, we are hungry and we want to eat."

The people in their home village would be so glad they won. They would run out with something to eat and would throw presents in their empty baskets. If they lost, the players would sneak in quietly and go to bed.

My people played a game with bows and arrows and a ring called *waw'-poi-un.* They played on the smooth game ground by the village. They used bows made of elderberry wood and wooden pointed arrows. We called the bow *tah-tip,* and the arrows *tu'-yose.* They were the same used for hunting around camp.

The *Win-at'-un* [messenger for the chief] rolled the ring and the players stood at the side and shot at the ring as it went by. When he rolled the ring the Winatun called, *"He'-ahm tahn'-hin."* He meant, "Are you ready?" or, "Here it comes."

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

have gone to see Mr. Crossmore, who had the right to that place. But we never knew it then, so we left.

The three men and my mother had worked about a week making a tule boat to fish from. We children had helped by carrying tules. It was a real good boat. They had fished from it a lot. The boat was about twenty-five feet long and eight feet wide. It was made of tules like the old-time Indians used to make them. They made it on the ground at the edge of the water. We called it *Tutoi* (too'-toi).

The tules were just tied into small bundles as long as the boat and about six inches through at the middle. The ends were pointed. A lot of these tule bundles were tied together. They made a big boat about three feet high. I think it took about twenty small bundles.

An extra bundle was tied along the top on each side so things would not lose off of the boat. The ends of the tule boat were higher than the middle.

In the middle of the boat a hole was made to spear fish through. It was a small hole about a foot across. We called it *kot-la'-um*. At the front end of the boat was a hole where they put the fish and ducks they caught out on the lake. It was about three feet square and a half foot deep. The men used to bring this place in full of fish and ducks. This hole was lined with tules woven together like a basket. We called it *traw-trawk'-oi*.

At the back end of the boat was another hole filled with mud. They built a fire on this mud and cooked fish and ducks while they were out on the lake. We called the fireplace *tri-ahn'-cut*.

Sometimes they stayed out on the lake fishing for three or four days. When they stayed out a long time on the raft they used to cut the fish open and smoke them over the fire and lay them on the raft to dry. When they came in the fish were almost dried. They used to cut the meat off the ducks and dry it the same way. They used long poles to move the raft around. We called these poles *iyahish* (i-yah'-ish).

When they came in with the boat we would all help to pull it up on the bank to dry out. When it would dry out it was very light. This boat carried all of us very easily. I think it would have taken that many more people.

Finally my stepfather changed his mind. He decided to go across the lake on the boat to *Chaw-lo'-win* on Atwell's Island.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 166 484 361 Some *Wowol* Indians at Armona told us that some Wowol were living again on Atwell's Island. So we were going to them across the lake on our boat.

159 166 484 If we went around with the team we had to leave our boat and take the Tachi Indian home. So my step-father's brother took the Tachi home and then took the team and wagon around to the mouth of Deer Creek, where we were to meet him about a week later.

I remember that we got ready to go and then my step-father waited two or three days for the north wind to blow. He wanted to go straight across the lake and our poles were too short to push the boat across the deep water. My step-father's brother took most of our camp things in the wagon. We had a light load on the boat, only a few blankets and some lunch. We could catch fish and ducks along the way and cook them on the boat. When the ducks saw some tules like a boat out on the lake they always flew down and landed on the water beside it. They thought that where there were tules the water was not deep and they could dive to the bottom and feed. While they [223] were diving it was easy to hide under the tules and shoot them with bow and arrows.

One afternoon we could see a dust cloud in the north and west, so we pushed the tule boat into the water and put our things on it. My stepfather and mother pushed the boat out into the lake with their poles and we all four started.

159 166 484 501 The boat was covered high with dry tules. It did not look like a boat at all. The wind blew against the tules and carried us right in the direction we wanted to go. The tules were like the sails you white people used on the lake afterward, but we did not put up any poles to hold them. They were just piled up high on the front end of the boat so that end would go ahead.

I think we must have left Heuumne about two o'clock in the afternoon. The boat went fast and took us by the east side of the lake, close to the tules. We could reach the bottom with our poles all of the time. By dark the wind was blowing the hardest we had ever seen it on the lake. The waves were higher than the sides of the boat and we were all afraid. I remember that the front end of the boat kept going under the water. My step-father put all of us on the back end of the boat but that did not stop it. We moved a lot of the tules on the back end. But then the boat turned around in the water and almost tipped over when it was crossways.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

Soon it was dark and we were all cold and wet. It was just as wet on the boat as if we were in the lake. We could all swim, but we were afraid all of the time, because the water was about seven feet deep and the rough water would drown us if we fell in it. So we stayed awake all night and shivered and held on to each other.

When it got daylight we could not see the land in any way. We could see the Kettleman Hills and the Sierra, but we were away out in the middle of the lake. The water was too deep to reach bottom with our poles. The wind was all gone, so we had to wait.

We stayed out there all day. It looked like we stood right still. I guess we did. There were lots of fish under the boat. My stepfather speared lots of nice ones. We could look down through kotlaum, the spearing hole, and see nothing but fish.

It was hot in the daytime, so we all got dry and warm. We made a fire and cooked fish, using the loose dry tules to burn. We were not hungry and we were not afraid any more, but we did not see how we were ever going to get to land. We stayed there all of that day and that night. It was a nice moonlight night and very pretty on the water. My mother told stories and sang for us almost all night and we had a good time.

When it came daylight again we could just see the tules on Chawlowin. But the tule boat looked like it was just standing still. My stepfather could just reach the bottom with our longest pole. We stayed out there all day again, and we got pretty tired of it. By dark my stepfather and my mother could use the poles on the bottom and they worked almost all night pushing the raft toward Chawlowin. By daylight we could see the land about a half mile away. Almost as soon as we could see, a heavy wind started up and in a few minutes the boat hit the bottom about one hundred yards from the tules.

Before we could get off the boat three or four men waded out to meet us. One of them was my mother's brother. We were very glad to see him. The men helped us to the shore and then they began to push the boat around to the west where they had a camp. It took all the rest of the day to get it around there.

We walked along the lake to the camp through a narrow trail in the high tules. Sometimes the water came up to our knees. The north wind was blowing hard again and that made the water come in on the land.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

things: the fact that they are adjusting themselves to the white man's way of living, and that they are anxious to keep their blood pure.

Those full-blood members of the *Wuckchumne* tribe, who number more than twenty, are almost entirely independent. They have never gone to a reservation and have accepted practically no government aid of any sort. They live in the open air under the spreading oaks along the Kaweah River, much as they always did. This is the reason that they have survived.

One of the common criticisms of Indians is that they are dirty. The writer has interviewed more than two hundred early white pioneers concerning the Yokuts Indians. In addition he has talked to more than twenty Indians who remembered the times before the white man came. We are assured by all persons who knew the Indians before their old method of living was entirely broken up, that almost without exception, every man, woman and child in an Indian village had bathed in the nearby stream before or shortly after sunrise every day of the year. We are told that during the summer months, young people, and often grown people, were in the water from ten to forty times during the day.

Padre Francisco Garces, first recorded white man to travel among the Yowlumne Yokuts, thrice took occasion to mention the fact that those Indians were cleanly and bathed often. He wrote about their use of the sweat house: "The hour of entertaining therein is either during the morning, or during the evening. When once the persons are inside, they kindle a fire; and as there is little ventilation, they cease not with the heat and the smoke to cry out and to sweat until the earth grows wet; when indeed they can endure no more they climb out by means of their ladder of sticks and throw themselves into the river. This is without doubt the cause of these people being so clean; but though of good habit of body they are meager and quite tender footed." On White River Garces wrote: "—these Indians travel little, because they bathe much, and do not have any covering on the feet."

If the many statements concerning these practices are true, then at least the question of personal cleanliness among the Indians as compared to white settlers is settled, because this frequency of bathing is without question not true of the white people who overthrew them. We know that even the mythical universal Saturday night bath was not indulged in by some

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946
NS29 Yokuts NS29

221 Pleasure came from their beauty, their fragrance, and their indication of a
301 plentiful seed harvest to follow. Winter rainbows forecast plentiful seed crops,
824 for they were seen as four bands of color (magenta, blue, yellow, orange) of four flowers whose seeds were prized.[12]

221 In April, when rattlesnakes were rousing from hibernation, came the very
796 important Rattlesnake Ritual, sponsored by the shamans controlling the creatures, and participated in by all persons as a preventative from injury by rattlers during the summer months. This ritual, which included a snake-handling display and concluded with a feast, was attended by both local and extra-community persons.

221 On the lower Kings River, the Choinimni (Y) and probably other tribes
226 within the area of the spring salmon run (about May) held a simple river-side ritual at their principal fishing sites. The local chief ate the first salmon speared, after cooking it and praying to Salmon for a plentiful supply. Then others partook of a salmon feast, and the season, so to say, was officially open. (Some
[423 616] foods were "moiety-owned," e. g., blackberries and mushrooms north of Kings River; the possessing moiety collected but could not partake until they had feasted the other moiety with the food.)

221 Disruption of village life came in late spring or early summer—from May
484 onward, depending upon the condition of the seed harvest. Chiefs directed the general exodus in a minor way, publicly stating that now was the time to go, and families departed for their habitual summer camps. At these, men caught fish and small game which they dried for winter use, and, as the women collected loads of seeds, transported the heavy burdens back to the village storage bins. There were no special ceremonies for this season of dispersed households; instead local
[535 527] and more spontaneous entertainment took place: there is record of shamans dancing at summer camps; there were pleasure dances in which both sexes participated; children played late in the long evenings; and stories (myth-instruction) were
361 tabu. Camp locations varied with the change of crops—toward the valley, into
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12 Play with flowers, so incompatible with conventional notions about Indians, was widespread in the West. Without especially seeking them the following references came to hand for Miwok, Maidu, Paviotso, Klackamas, and Taos: S. A. Barrett and E. W. Gifford, *Miwok Material Culture* (Bulletin, Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee, vol. 2, pp. 117-376, 1933), pp. 222-223; Stephen Powers, *Tribes of California* (Contributions to North American Ethnology, vol. 3, Department of the Interior, United States Geographical and Geological Survey of the Rocky Mountain Region, Washington, D. C., 1877), p. 325; Robert H. Lowie, *Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography* (Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History, vol. 20, part 3, 1924), pp. 306-307; Melville Jacobs, *Texts in Chinook Jargon* (University of Washington Publications in Anthropology, vol. 7, pp. 1-27, 1936), p. 12; Elsie Clews Parsons, *Taos Tales* (Memoirs, American Folklore Society, no. 34, 1940), p. 121.

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946
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the hills—but all in all the moves probably encompassed not more than a twenty mile span, on the average, for anyone.

There is some evidence that early fall was a season of general sickness for people in the San Joaquin valley, especially for those in the swampy region near the lake. The evidence is tenuous; whether the illness was due to stagnant, contaminated or alkaline water, to heat stroke, to an increase in tularemia as the result of greater handling of rabbits and ground squirrels, it is impossible to say.[13]

September saw a return to the villages: winter storage preparations were made, and with view to the complete reëstablishment of normal community life plans were started for the great event of the year, the Annual Mourning Ceremony (luni·ša). To this end much material—foodstuffs in abundance, treasures of baskets, feather ornaments, money—had been prepared or saved. Preparatory loans already had been floated to be returned at high interest at the time of the festivity, usually late October. Necessary supplies of deer meat were obtained by special hunters at the very time of the event. Guests came by the hundreds. Obviously such large-scale entertainment could be managed only at the season of most plentiful food supplies.

Thus October saw the greatest of the year's festivities, the six-day ceremony of special rites, one for each day, climaxing in the all night mourning and distribution of wealth, followed by the ritual cleansing, and ending with a feast, game playing and dancing, the acquisition of foods, gifts, and exchanged treasures. These affairs might be held in two or three Yokuts-Mono tribes during this period (roughly late September to early November), and the same persons attend them, at home as hosts, elsewhere as reciprocal ritual participants, or as visitors.

November brought the final seasonal ceremony, the Bear Dance (nōhō·'o ka·maič), which marked the first use of the new acorn crop by all persons of the Bear lineages—sometimes for other people as well.[14] This brief but exciting performance ended with a feast of acorns prepared and served by Bear people to their guests, after which they themselves partook. The dance was timed to follow the final harvesting of acorns and coincided with the time when bears betook themselves to winter hibernation.

Thus ended the ceremonial year, with mourners released from their restrictions, with storehouses filled, with houses repaired, and with long evenings ahead

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13 A comparable summer sickness of waterfowl in this area is on record (Joseph Grinnell, Harold Child Bryant, and Tracy Irwin Storer, *The Game Birds of California*, Berkeley, 1918, p. 17).

14 Lineage attributes and functions have been described in the author's *Yokuts and Western Mono Social Organization* (American Anthropologist, vol. 47, pp. 409-426, 1945).

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221 796 in which to tell the prehistory of the Yokuts world.[15] Six public ceremonies dependent upon or motivated by environmental changes had engaged the community's attention, interest, and support during the year: Datura Drinking, Flower Festival,[16] Rattlesnake Ritual, Salmon Rite, Annual Mourning Ceremony, and Bear Dance. There were no other important community festivities; that is, all whole-community or whole-tribal ceremonies were determined by the seasonal calendar. While other events of interest occurred and were witnessed as spectacles by those who cared to be there, those of greatest public importance all had basic environmental associations.

439 484 [501] Trade relations of material importance to Yokuts and Western Mono were regulated by environmental conditions. Thus, during the spring when high water filled the sloughs connecting lower Kings River and the north end of Tulare Lake, large parties of Yokuts, e. g., Choinimni, traveled by balsa from the foothills to the lake area to fish, trade, and doubtless intermarry.[17] Cultural affinity between Northern Foothill Yokuts and Lake Yokuts probably in part is due to this large scale social intercourse made possible at the season of high water.

Trade relations between Eastern Mono (Owens Valley Paiute), east of the Sierra Nevada, and their linguistic relatives and neighbors of the Yokuts, the Western Mono, were limited to a few summer weeks when known mountain passes were open to foot travel. The trans-Sierra visitors, not welcome in Yokuts villages, rarely ventured alone beyond the Western Mono groups. However, occasionally a woman coming over with a trading party remained there for the winter: once caught on the west side of the mountains she had to remain till the following season. Sometimes she had a child with her, bore a Yokuts child, or was pregnant by the following summer.[18] The diffusion of the triangular winnowing tray and hooded cradle of Eastern Mono type amongst Yokuts women may have been abetted by this circumstance as much as by impersonal trade with the neighboring Western Mono.

In the southwestern section of the San Joaquin valley trade with the coastal people, e. g., Chumash, may have been temporarily halted by severe weather in the Tejon country (the intervening mountainous region), but not sufficiently to enforce long residence on incoming tradesmen.

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15 The adventures of the pre-human animals, not, be it noted, the history of the tribal unit, of humans, or of distinguished individuals, or of "gods."

16 Flower Festival is my label for convenience; public interest and reaction to the floral season was general and was patterned, but not welded into a named ceremonial form.

17 A unique account of such a trip is given in F. F. Latta, *Uncle Jeff's Story* (Tulare, California, 1929), pp. 29-31.

18 Always they eventually returned home to Owens Valley, I was told; none appear in Yokuts genealogies.

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Thus two types of environmental factor, topographic access or hindrance, and "weather permitting" or hindering, affected the economic relation of the foothill Yokuts with their neighbors. Easy access does not necessarily mean exchanges of goods or other cultural items, but barriers do retard them. On the other hand, differing environments mean different products, and had Eastern Mono products been identical with Yokuts (yet equally inaccessible) the impetus to exchange would have been wanting. The topographic barrier was surmounted, but the weather barrier could not be, and it presumably served to maintain the strangeness and hostility between Eastern Mono and Yokuts, which only was assuaged temporarily and periodically by the presence of the mutually acculturated intermediaries, the Western Mono.

As suggested by the adjustments of trading periods to the seasonal environment, the physiographic setting was a factor in other tribal relationships and directional emphases. The plain or floor of the San Joaquin valley is abruptly ended on the eastern side by the rising wall of the Sierra Nevada; there is no slow progression. Of the foothills, the most meagre are treeless cones planted at the edge of the valley floor; behind them are higher, larger, interlocking cones blending into sharply massed mountains above which stand snow-capped peaks. This topographic antithesis was reflected in non-material culture of the Yokuts. A directional distinction of eastward, upstream, mountainward (no´tu) versus westward, downstream, plainsward (to´xil; da´ṭu) gave names to the moieties (where they occurred): Nutuwich, Tokelyuwich; it regulated spatial arrangements at large ceremonies; wars and competitions in myths were attributed to uplanders and lowlanders; and in cosmogonic beliefs eastward beyond the mountains is the mysterious "home" of the supernatural animals, while westward beyond the ocean is the "home" of the dead, a place of feasting and merriment.

Other directions of the conventional six were also important.[19] North (hosi´m) and south (homo´t) were constantly used as general designations for other Yokuts people, individuals or groups, when the tribal name was not known, i. e., "northerner" (hoso´mo), "southerner" (humti´nin). East and west (nutu´wič; tokelyu´wič) were rarely used for directional labels for tribes, not because they were moiety names (which the Central Foothill Yokuts lacked entirely) but because the east-west span of the valley is short, and close knowledge of neighbors by tribal name ran along the east to west flow of the streams. Comparably, the intervening watersheds discouraged north-south travel. In general, westerner (to´kya) was a term for any people living far west or southwest of

19 Usually named in order: S, W, N, E, U, D. (No color symbolism was associated with direction.)

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

622 and he made his name feared and dreaded for many a score of miles around. [566] He "bound out" his subjects at will, adults and children alike, to the ranchmen, on life-long indentures.

792 Nai-ak'-a-we was a famous prophet of the Chŭkchansi, who died in 1854. It is said that his name was known and his power was acknowledged from King's River as far north as Columbia; but this seems hardly probable. Naiakawe had a lofty ambition, and he meditated great and benevolent designs for his people, but he was doomed to disappointment. He sought to mollify those miserable janglings and that clannishness which have been so fatal to the California Indians from time immemorial; to reconcile the warring captains of villages and chiefs of tribes, and thereby harmonize them into one powerful nation, peaceful at home and respected and feared 262 abroad. But the question of a food-supply was one which this savage 792 statesman, however able and far-sighted, could not master. In ancient times they had immense herds of elk and deer, and, sweeping over the plains [136 on their swift mustangs, they could shoot down at any time a fat bronco 224] bogged by the lake (for the Indians of this State used to eat horse-flesh, until the influence of the Americans gradually induced them to abandon it); but now all these were gone, they had to scatter into families to collect food, the wretched feuds of the petty captains were eternally breaking out afresh, and Naiakawe beheld one hope after another and one noble design after another pass away; so he died at last broken-hearted. He said he did not wish to survive the ruin of his people.

791 Another notable characteristic of the Yokuts is the great influence and ●484 extensive journeyings of their wizards or rain-makers (*tëss*). Ke'-ya, who lives at Woodville, is one instance; but the most remarkable is Hop-ōd'-no. Though living at Fort Tejon, he has by his personal presence, his eloquence, and his cunning jugglery, made his fame and authority recognized for two hundred miles northward, to the banks of the San Joaquin. In 1870, the first of two successive years of drought, he made a pilgrimage from the fort up as far as King's River, and at every centrally-located village he made a pause and sent out runners to collect all the Indians of the vicinal villages to listen to him. In long and elaborate harangues he would promise them to bring rain on the dried-up earth, if they would contribute

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liberally of their substance. But he was yet an unknown prophet. They were incredulous, and mostly laughed him to scorn, whereupon he would leave the village in high dudgeon, denouncing war upon their heads, and threatening them with a continuance of the drought another year far worse than before. Sure enough, the enraged Hopodno brought drought a second year, and the Indians were smitten with remorse and terror, believing him endowed with superhuman power; and when next year he made a second pilgrimage, offerings were showered upon him in abundance, and men heard him with trembling. He compelled them to pay him fifty cents apiece, American money, and many gladly gave much more. And he made rain.

As to their implements and weapons, there are some interesting particulars to be noted. Here, as everywhere on the Sacramento and Joaquin plains, the Indians make no bows, but purchase them all from the mountaineers. This is because they have no cedar. This wood is extremely brittle when dry, and is then the poorest possible material for bows; but by anointing it every day with deer's marrow while it is drying the Indian overcomes this quality and renders it the best. The bow is taken from the white or sap wood, the outside of the tree being also the outside of the bow. It is scraped and polished down with wonderful painstaking, so that it may bend evenly, and the ends are generally carved so as to point back slightly. Then the Indian takes a quantity of deer's sinew, splits it up with flint into small fibers, and glues them on the outside or flat back of the weapon until it becomes semi-cylindrical in shape. These strings of sinew, being lapped around the end of the bow and doubled back a little way, impart to it its wonderful strength and elasticity. The glue is made by boiling the joints of various animals and combining the product with pitch.

I saw a bow thus carefully made in the hands of an aged chief, and it was truly a magnificent weapon. It was about five feet long, smooth and shining—for when it becomes a little soiled the fastidious savage scrapes it slightly with flint, then anoints it afresh with marrow—and of such great strength that it would require a giant to bend it in battle. For lack of skins the owner carried it in a calico case. The string, composed of twisted sinew, was probably equal in strength to a sea-grass rope of three times its diameter.

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man, physician to the Tule River Reservation, gives me the information that both males and females, though bathing quite apart, never enter the water without wearing breech-cloths at least; and this is corroborated by an old resident on King's River, who observed it of them in their native condition. Mr. Charles Maltby, agent of the above reservation, and at one time Indian agent for the whole State, and well acquainted with aboriginal habits, also affirms that the Yokuts are purer than the northern tribes, and that the Indians throughout Southern California are less given to the infamous practice of selling the virtue of their women to white men than those of Northern California. They may not have been any better originally, but they have not been so shamefully debauched by miners. That is probably the explanation.

Their language has what is generally considered a good indication, separate words for "woman" (*mo-kel'-la*), and wife (*mo-ki'*); also, for "man" (*no'-no*) and "husband" (*lo'-wit*).

We find also the singular custom noticed in some other tribes, that a man marrying goes to live at his wife's or father-in-law's house, though he still has power of life or death over her person.

Infanticide is practiced in case of deformity.

Many years ago the Indians dwelling on the lake at the mouth of King's River were carried away captives by the Spaniards, and taken to San Luis Obispo. After a long residence there, upon the breaking up of the missions, they returned to their native land; but meantime a new generation had grown up, to whom the old mission was their home. They yearned to return, and to this day they make an annual pilgrimage to San Luis, where they remain a month; and they would by preference live there all their remaining days, only their children, born on the shores of Tulare Lake, will not consent. By some this may be considered a convincing proof of their attachment to the old Jesuit padres, who used to lasso them in the name of the church; but it is not necessary to resort to this explanation at all. It is easily enough accounted for by the California Indian's proverbial love of his birthplace, just as the slave-born children of Israel lusted for the flesh-pots of that Egypt which had scourged them.

If an Indian dies on a trail far from home he is buried beside it. Every

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one who passes the mound casts upon it a stone, or a string of shell-money, 484
or some other offering, which pious service will secure him from the dire
calamity of dying away from home and friends.

Incremation is pretty general, though the Chukchansi are said to burn 764
only those who die a violent death or are snake-bitten, and bury all others. [D66]
A widow or widower is expected to mourn one year, and if they remarry 587
within that time they are discountenanced. This is not saying that they do 765
not sometimes nowadays, since they have become debauched by "civiliza- [177]
tion", remarry in a week, even, occasionally; but there is good reason to
believe that in their better days of savagery they observed this period with
much scrupulosity. But as soon as the first dance for the dead occurs it
releases all the mourners in the tribe from further seclusion, even if it should
happen only a few days after some death, and then they are free to enjoy
all the gayeties as before.

As there has been some sharp discussion of the existence of an aborigi- 775
nal belief in annihilation of the soul after death, it is worth while to adduce
the testimony of one who should know. J. H. Bethel, who lived among
the Chukchansi twenty-one years, and spoke their language fluently, affirms
that this belief is very generally diffused, both among the Yokuts and the
Mono.

ORIGIN OF THE MOUNTAINS.

Once there was a time when there was nothing in the world but water. 773
About the place where Tulare Lake is now, there was a pole standing far
up out of the water, and on this pole perched a hawk and a crow. First
one of them would sit on the pole awhile, then the other would knock him
off and sit on it himself. Thus they sat on top of the pole above the
waters for many ages. At length they wearied of the lonesomeness, and
they created the birds which prey on fish such as the kingfisher, eagle,
pelican, and others. Among them was a very small duck, which dived
down to the bottom of the water, picked its beak full of mud, came up,
died, and lay floating on the water. The hawk and the crow then fell
to work and gathered from the duck's beak the earth which it had brought
up, and commenced making the mountains. They began at the place
now known as Ta-hi'-cha-pa Pass, and the hawk made the east range,

11: Gayton E-4 (no date) 1936 NS29 Yokuts NS29

the river toward the east, then going about 4 leagues we turned south [copy of Nov. 19: and crossed another time] and found signs of there having been a ranchería. There were parts of dead horses there and a sweat house of considerable capacity. Going 4 leagues more, and almost in front of my halting place of the day before, he pointed out on the other shore of the river a great willow thicket and tular, saying that it [the Chaneche ranchería] was on those banks. We went there and found four old balsas which we could not use. I had to cross by swimming and maneuvering about [*bola pie*] with considerable trouble because of the obstacles, the great density of trees, willows and *zarzamora* on both sides. It was necessary to enter partly on canes [?, *entrar en parte arrodillados*] as far as the ranchería, which was found abandoned. It was composed solely of the same tules, their ends bent [?, *dobladas sus puntas*] like those I had seen on the shores of the river and sloughs, the miserable huts all scattered and without any order.

From this native I learned that at this Ranchería of Chineches all the renegade Christians from Santa Cruz, Santa Clara, San Francisco, and Soledad had gathered in a considerable number. [He said] that Pomponio, Baltazar, and a Clareño came to it frequently; that six days ago they arrived with twelve horses and a piece of cloth that they had stolen in the neighborhood of the town and mission of Santa Clara. [He said] that when he retreated he left them there, and they had not as yet seen us; that since they always rode bareback they had no halters.

All the San Joaquin River and the arroyo of Santa Rita is studded with groves of a very large species of willow. In the largest the natives knew to watch in such a way over a great distance, for so large is this plain which they call Los Tulares that anyone is seen who comes on foot, or still better, on horseback. Today we made 12 leagues with considerable trouble because of our exposure.

Wednesday, 10.—It now seemed impracticable to continue north to the Merced River in search of an Indian village, which, according to my calculations would be 12 leagues away. For as I see it, it would have been already abandoned for many days by both natives and the renegade Christians who live with them. They would be hidden in the tules and swamps whose inviolability is a complete certainty, the more so since they carry nothing with them, and get about easily with their knowledge of the country. And already having news of this and the San Francisco expedition they would take special precautions, not even making the fires which they usually make when traveling [copy of Nov. 19: with which they are accustomed to signal when our people are traveling] on the plain. Considering the time wasted, I resolved to return to the Presidio.

Started at 6 A.M. guided by the same Indian, going toward the east [?, *oriente;* copy of Nov. 19 does not give the direction] for the Santa Rita River. I reached there at 4 P.M. having gone 11 leagues through swamps, etc.

I learned from this native named Lutuays, and from the Indian interpreters whom I brought from Soledad that in that mission he had two Chris-